THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC MINORITIES: A CASE STUDY OF WEST AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

PETKOU CHAMBA LAWRENCE

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of how West Africa immigrants experience immigration into South Africa, and how they are affected by their new context. Based on interview schedule (survey), in-depth interviews, observations (direct and indirect), primary and secondary sources, some 112 Cameroonians and Nigerians (72 Cameroonians and 40 Nigerians) were studied between May 2001 and December 2003.

The study revealed that, xenophobia, discrimination, and the South African affirmative action, make it difficult for West African immigrants to achieve their goals in the country. From an overall perspective, these immigrants are not allowed to work or study; they suffer harassment, social exclusion and gross human rights abuses in the country. While the majority of these immigrants have actually abandoned their home countries for South Africa, various reasons account for their immigration into South Africa. A study of the factors influencing West African immigration into South Africa, found that, although several factors account for West African immigration into South Africa, the factors are interlinked to one another, and not independent in themselves. I showed that, although push and pull factors, such as political, economic, socio-cultural factors, communication and technological advances, proximity, precedence and tradition of migration influence West African immigration into South Africa, the role of family pride, usually ignored in most migration studies is fast becoming an emerging push factor of migration in the West African sub-region.

In South Africa, West African immigrants interact with the general public, as well as some government institutions most notably, the Department of Home Affairs. An examination of past and current immigration policy, the Department of Home Affairs, and the general public found that although immigrants enter South Africa with the hope of improving their lives, and those of family members back home, they are socially excluded; suffer from serious human rights abuses, discrimination and xenophobic hostility. The Aliens Control Act of 1991, the new Refugee Act of 1998, negative attitude of some officials, interpreters and the general public, a simultaneous increase in the

number of immigrants with unemployment, lack of socialization between South Africans and West Africans, apartheid isolation and indoctrination of South Africans, and the role of the media have all contributed to the high levels of discrimination and xenophobic hostility West Africans experience in South Africa. I have termed this fear and dislike of West Africans, and the resultant negative reactions by South Africans 'Westaphobia'.

The study saw West African immigrants as socially excluded in South African. An examination why, revealed the factors and the reasons as another facet of discrimination and xenophobia. It was found that, immigrants adapt in various ways to resist discrimination and xenophobia, and in the course of adapting, modify their personal identities, giving rise to multiple identities. Such hybridities were evident in immigrants dressing, dancing and hairstyles, expressive gestures, having more South African friends, changing legal status, joining, forming and organizing social functions.

Despite experiences of discrimination, xenophobia and exclusion, the study found that immigrants implement certain strategies to ensure their survival in South Africa. In the midst of these problems, some immigrants still manage to succeed in their businesses and other under takings. Immigrants' high concentration in Hillbrow with its commercial and locational advantages, initial capital through immigrants' networks, the use of family labor, are all added advantages. The study also found that through small business activities, and the trading of ethnic goods, immigrants are able to survive and send remittances back home. At the same time, trading in and consuming ethnic goods help strengthened immigrants self-identification, unify and link them to their roots. Further revelations saw some of the immigrants as transmigrants, who develop hybrid identities, and live their lives across boundaries. In this way, they are able to succeed despite their status as the undesirables in South Africa. Others are pushed to the wall, and are forced to transgress various margins of the law, to ensure their survival, resist discrimination and xenophobic hostility in South Africa. For some, transgressing margins of the law is the fastest means of amassing wealth to be able to live a better live in South Africa, and still take care of family members in their home countries.

I declared that this thesis is my own unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.
PETKOU Chamba Lawrence

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, April 2005.

To my deceased family, sister Patricia Chamba, brother Jude Chamba, and my grandmother Emilia Njiki. May your souls rest in the peace of God

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people contributed in their own capacity to the successful completion of this thesis, which is geared towards looking at how West African immigrants experience immigration into South Africa. I would first like to express my deep and sincere thanks to my supervisor and mentor Professor Jon Hyslop whose professional skills, supervision, keen interest and brilliant advices guided me through out this work. At all times, from the start to the end of writing this thesis, Prof. Jon Hyslop was a constant source of support and encouragement. His supervision and guidance were priceless and always enlightening. Each time he spoke to me, I always feel blessed, and would sincerely say that, there wouldn't have been any better supervisor to guide me through out a research of this broad nature. Much gratitude to my HOD Professor Eddy Webster, Professor J Cock, Dr. E. Van Hyssteen, Louise Hagemeier and the rest of the staff members of Sociology Department, University of the Witwatersrand.

I am also thankful to Dr. S. Madhavan who read through my questionnaire and made numerous insightful suggestions. Her methodology lectures were invaluable to the completion of this research. Many thanks are also due to Dr. Loren Landau of Forced Migration Studies University of the Witwatersrand. His guidance and support during our many discussion sessions were very useful. Very special thanks are due to Ndessomin Dosso, in the Forced Migration Department Wits University, for his moral and financial support.

I acknowledge the Post Graduate Merit Award, and the Mellon Postgraduate Mentoring Programme of the University of the Witwatersrand, both of which I was a grateful recipient. Without these supports, the completion of this thesis would have been a worthless dream. Thanks again to my supervisor and mentor, Professor J. Hyslop, the then Heads of Department Prof. J. Cock, and Dr. E. Van Hyssteen, the then head of the School of Social Sciences, Professor B. Bozzoli, and the Dean of the School of Social Sciences Professor G. Olivier. Their financial assistance supported me through out, and gave me the opportunity to attend an international conference in Moscow Russia.

Special thanks are also due to Karen Lazar, for editing the initial draft of this thesis. I would also like to thank all my friends most of whom would be impossible to name, Ellis Ayayee, Sky Gawu, Maina Mutonya, Sharon, Faith Banekazi, Bernard Bancho, Nebabi Ferdinand, Tingo Robert, Ernest Nti, John Moma, Mr. George Ndoh, Mrs. Mengi Corine, Fangha Divine, Thandi of EISA and the Molepo's family. Your moral support and various distractions constantly gave me the zeal to see the completion of this thesis. To my field researchers, then second year students in the Department of Sociology Wits University, Fortunate Lushaba and Nkosi Nompumelelo, and to all the interviewees who gave me their time, I owe you special thanks.

Last but not the least to my family, my mother Njiki Chamba Lucy, father Chamba Wanji Daniel, brothers Charles, Emmanuel, Arnold and Mimi, my sisters Rose, Immaculate, and Blanche, for tolerating the years without me, thank you for your support and patience, and may God bless and protect you all.

Very special thanks to God the Almighty, for thy blessings, strength, protection and guidance throughout my studies and stay in South Africa. As thy servant, I will always sing thy praise.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures
List of Tables
Abbreviations
Acknowledgements

CHAPTER	ONE:	INTRODU	CTION .	AND	THE	STUDY
AREA	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•••••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•••••	• • • • • • • •	1
Introdu	ction				• • • • • • • •	1
The Ob	jectives (of the study.				2
The stru	icture of	the thesis				3
The stu	dy Area	(Hillbrow)				9
Why wa	as Hillbro	ow selected	for the rese	earch?.		9
The his	story of	West Afric	can immig	gration	into 1	Hillbrow:
Fi	rom a wh	ite reserve t	o a West Ą	frican	strongi	hold12
The pe	riod bet	ween 1977	and 1985	5: The	break	down of
se	gregation	1				13
The pe	eriod bet	ween 1985	and 199	2: Hil	lbrow	becomes
1	African	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			17
The per	riod betw	veen 1992	and 2003:	Hillbre	ow bed	comes an
immigr	ant area.					20
West A	frican im	migrants-w	ho are they	?		22
How m	any are t	hev?				22

	Definition of terms.	24
	Immigration/Emigration	24
	Immigrant ethnic minority	24
	Ethnicity	25
	Identity	25
	Diaspora	26
	Xenophobia/Westaphobia	27
	Push and Pull factors.	27
	Asylum seekers/Refugees	28
	Transnationalism/Transmigrants	29
	Conclusion.	30
CHA	APTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	32
	Introduction	32
	Methodology adopted for the present study	34
	Review of primary and secondary materials	34
	The survey (Interview schedule)	34
	Introduction	34
	Organization and objectives of the survey questionr	naires
	(interview schedule)	35
	Selecting the respondents (Snowball sampling)	36
	Piloting the questionnaire	38
	Administering the questionnaires (interview schedule)	39
	Limitations of the survey (interview schedule)	41

In-depth interviews	42
Selecting the respondents (Direct request	and
snowballing)	43
Observation	45
Introduction	45
The use of direct observation	45
Objectives of direct observation	46
Limitations and problems encountered with	direct
observation	47
Covert participant observation	48
Limitations of covert participant observation	49
Analysis of the data collected	50
Conclusion.	52
CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW	53
Introduction	53
International migration and the formation of	ethnic
minority	54
Contemporary global migration flow	56
Factors influencing international migration	59
Theories in migration	60
The gravity model	60
Zipf's Inverse Distance law	60

Stouffer's Law of intervening opportunities	61
Ravenstein's law of migration	61
The push pull theory	62
The formation of immigrants' ethnic minorities	64
Definition	64
Towards an immigrant ethnic minority group	65
Ethnicity and identity formation	68
Case studies in the United States and Europe	75
Experiences in the United States	75
Experiences in Europe	78
Minority groups and resistance to discrimination	82
The Congolese response to majority hostilities	and
discrimination	83
Conclusion.	85
CHAPTER FOUR: WEST AFRICAN IMMIGRATION	TO
SOUTH AFRICA	88
Introduction	88
Migration to South Africa	90
The SADC experience	90
Factors favoring migration within the SADC region	into
South Africa	92
The West African experience	93

The Nigerian situation. The Cameroonian situation. Ahidjo's authoritarianism. Biya's "New Deal" Government. Economic and Humanitarian crises. The West African situation. Communication and technological advances. The role of precedence. Socio-cultural factors. Tradition of migration. Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS. Introduction.	94
Ahidjo's authoritarianism. Biya's "New Deal" Government. Economic and Humanitarian crises. The West African situation. Communication and technological advances. The role of precedence. Socio-cultural factors. Tradition of migration. Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	95
Biya's "New Deal" Government. Economic and Humanitarian crises. The West African situation. Communication and technological advances. The role of precedence. Socio-cultural factors. Tradition of migration. Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	98
Economic and Humanitarian crises The West African situation Communication and technological advances The role of precedence Socio-cultural factors Tradition of migration Family pride Case study one Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	100
The West African situation. Communication and technological advances. The role of precedence. Socio-cultural factors. Tradition of migration. Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	101
Communication and technological advances The role of precedence Socio-cultural factors Tradition of migration Family pride Case study one Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	105
The role of precedence Socio-cultural factors Tradition of migration Family pride Case study one Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	105
Socio-cultural factors Tradition of migration Family pride Case study one Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	109
Tradition of migration. Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	.111
Family pride. Case study one. Case study two. Case study three. Conclusion. CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	111
Case study one Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 7 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	.112
Case study two Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 1 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	.114
Case study three Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 1 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	116
Conclusion CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 1 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.	119
CHAPTER FIVE: WEST AFRICANS AND THI INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 1 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	119
INTERACTION WITH THE STATE: 1 DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	123
DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS	EIR
	THE
Introduction	127
	.127
Why the Braamfontein Department of Home Affairs	.128

Changing immigration policies: Implications for	WEST
African immigrants	129
The Aliens Control Act: A key cause of xenophobia	134
The Alien Control Act of 1991 (ACA)	136
The new refugee Act of December 1998	139
The Department of Home Affairs	143
The night walk to Braamfontein Home Affairs office	144
The Braamfontein Department of Home Affairs office	146
The role of interpreters in the Home Affairs Office	150
Becoming an asylum seeker	152
Conclusion.	160
CHAPTER SIX: COPING WITH XENOPHOBIA IN S	OUTH
CHAPTER SIX: COPING WITH XENOPHOBIA IN S AFRICA	
	165
AFRICA	165
AFRICA Introduction.	165 167
AFRICA Introduction The emergence and causes of xenophobia	165 167 170
AFRICA Introduction The emergence and causes of xenophobia A neo-racism.	165 167 170 172
AFRICA. Introduction. The emergence and causes of xenophobia. A neo-racism. Xenophobia in South Africa.	165 167 170 172 176
AFRICA. Introduction. The emergence and causes of xenophobia. A neo-racism. Xenophobia in South Africa. Causes of xenophobia in South Africa.	165 167 170 172 176
AFRICA. Introduction. The emergence and causes of xenophobia. A neo-racism. Xenophobia in South Africa. Causes of xenophobia in South Africa. The role of the media in perpetuating xenophobia.	165 167 170 172 176 181

The socially excluded in South Africa	189
Unemployment and low income	191
Poor housing/living conditions	194
Belonging to minority ethnic groups	196
Xenophobia and West African Identity	197
Dressing and hairstyle	198
Learning the local languages and dancing styles	200
Making more South African friends	202
Changing legal status.	203
Joining social clubs and organizing social get-togeth	ner205
Formation of social organizations and clubs	208
West African Associations in South Africa	209
Conclusion.	211
CHAPTER SEVEN: STRATEGIES FOR	SOCIO-
ECONOMIC SURVIVAL	213
ECONOMIC SUNTIAL	
Introduction	213
Introduction	213
Introduction	213
Introduction	213218221
Introduction Success through exclusion Hillbrow: The West African enclave Trading as a last resort: Employing family labour	213 218 221 225

Wor	kers and newly arrived immigrants	227
Ethn	ic dishes	228
Ethn	ic music	230
Mea	ning of food and drinks for West African im	migrants in
	South Africa	231
Clotl	hing and beauty products	232
Fron	n asylum seekers to transmigrants	232
Hair	dressing and beauty salons	236
Inter	net cafes and phone booths	238
Surv	iving outside the margins of the law	239
Cont	tested boundaries: Survival of the rejected	241
Taxe	es and custom duties	242
Iden	tification papers	243
Unli	censed taxi drivers and driver's licenses	244
The	role of personal ties	247
Illici	t Financial Transaction and Money Launderin	ng: Feymen
	and 419	249
Illici	t Bank Transactions	251
'Fey	men' and '419'	252
Conc	clusion	253
СНАРТЕ	R EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS	256
Intro	oduction	256

Conclusions	256
Some policy considerations	265
References	
Appendix 1 (Some useful tables)	
Appendix 2 (419 sample letter)	
Appendix 3 (Questionnaires)	
Appendix 4 (Arguments for quantitative and qualitative methods)	
LIST OF FIGURES	
Figure 1: The study area and the official boundaries of Hillbrow	xix
Figure 2: Hill brow and her surrounding neighbourhoods	xx
Figure 3: Factors influencing West African immigration into South Africa	
Figure 4: Employment status of Cameroonians and Nigerians	193
LIST OF TABLES	
Table 1: Percentage change in the numbers of travelers arriving from leading	
source countries into South Africa from May 2001 to May 2002	
Table 3:DHA office for processing and renewal of documentation	
Table 4: Guestimates of number of immigrants in South Africa	
Table 5: Why West African immigrants would want to move out of South Africa	
Table 6: Monthly salaries of employed immigrants	194

xvii

Table 7: Room density in flats	195
Table 8: Room density in apartments	195
Table 9: What West Africans like about South Africa.	201
Table 10: Educational status of immigrants before coming to South Africa	219
Tables 11: Acquired skills/Educational status in South Africa	220
Table 12: Immigrants who own cars	245
Table 13: Type of driver's license.	247
Abbreviations	

ACA: Aliens Control Act

ACAS: Les Association des Cameroonais en Afrique du Sud

ACTSTOP: Action Committee to Stop Crime

AESCA-SA: Association of English Speaking Cameroonians in South Africa

AIAS: Les Association des Ivoiriens en Afrique du Sud

AMESA: Association of Momo Elites South Africa

AMPROS: Anglo American Property Services

ANC: African National Congress

APIC: African Policy Information Center

ASP: Asylum Seeker's Permit

ASTP: Asylum Seeker's Temporary Permit

CCPJ: Central Committee for Polish Jews

CFA: Communaute Financiere Africaine

CNU: Cameroon National Union

COSATU: The Congress of South African Trade Union

CPDM: Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement

CRTV: Cameroon Radio and Television

CSVR: Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DHA: Department of Home Affairs

ENAM: E'cole National de l' administration et de la Magistrature

EUMC/RAXEN: European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia

xviii

GHAJOSA: Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and surrounding areas

GTTC: Government Teachers Teaching College

HIV/AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HRC: Human Rights Committee South Africa

HSRC: Human Science Research Council

IOM: International Organization of Migration

ISS: Institute for Security Studies

KBB: Keepers of Body Building Club

LHR: Lawyers of Human Rights

NFMSA: The Nigerian Family Meeting in South Africa

NICs: New Industrialized Countries

NWP: North West Province

OAU: Organization of African Unity

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SADCC: South African Development Co-ordination Conference

SAMP: Southern Africa Migration Project

SAP: Structured Adjustment Province

SAPS: South African Police Services

SAYB: South African Year Book

SCNC: Southern Cameroon National Council

SDF: Social Democratic Front

SDO: Status Determination Officer

SOWETO: South Western Townships

TPPP: Temporary Permit to Prohibited People

UAWA: United Asians Workers Association

UK: United Kingdom

UNDP: Union Nationale Pour la Democratic et la Progress

UNHCR: United Nation High Commission for Refugees

UPC: The Cameroon People Union

US: United States



Figure 1: The Study Area and the Official Boundaries of Hillbrow

HILLBROW AND HER SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOODS

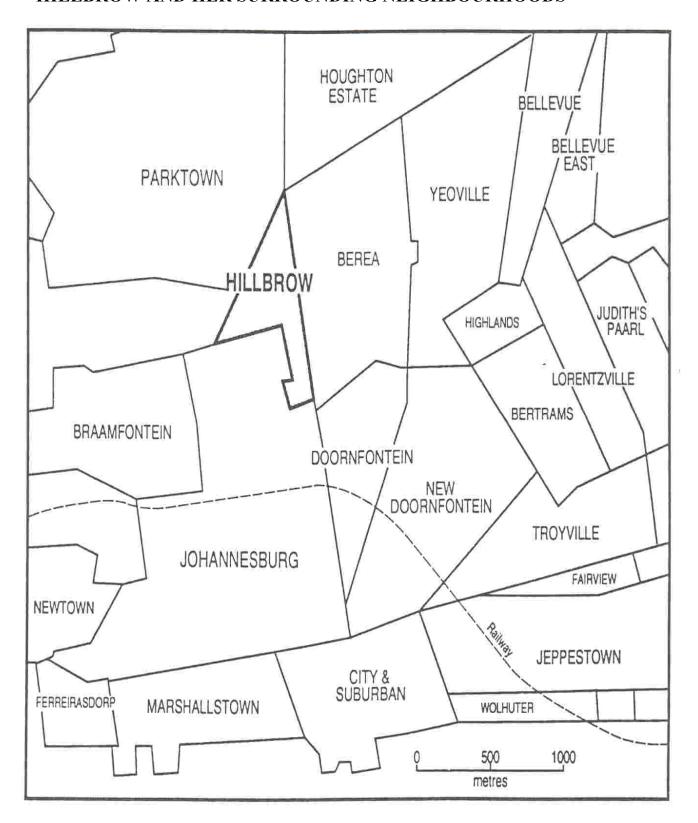


Figure 2: Hillbrow and her Surrounding Neighbourhoods.